

## **American Women Readers Encounter Turkey in the Shadow of Popular Romance**

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Demetra Vaka's *In the Shadow of Islam*, published by Houghton Mifflin in 1911, depicts Millicent Grey, a recent Radcliffe graduate bent on improving the world through her naïve attempts at international philanthropy. The athletic, blonde American heiress arrives in İstanbul with little more than the vaguest of good intentions and soon finds herself in a passionate struggle with a threatening, desperate, and dark-complexioned Ottoman lover. At first glance, Vaka appears to have created a popular romance novel, a New Woman variation on F. Marion Crawford's love stories, then the rage with women readers, in which heroes and heroines, separated largely by their race, ethnicity, or social class, pursue and flee each other across sensational locations. *In the Shadow of Islam's* setting seems to capitalize on the Western hunger for the exotic, specifically the Oriental, that would inspire silent films such as *The Sheik* (1921), the paintings of Gustav Klimt, and the architecture, decor, and clothing fashion of the 1920s.

However, an accurate assessment of the novel's agenda as well as its reception requires a closer examination of the other historical and social forces influencing Vaka and her audience. These include a vigorous American expansionism, the growing population of educated women and the role of the feminist movement in the United States, American philanthropic involvement with Christian minorities living in the Ottoman Empire, and Vaka's own Greek-American background, particularly her concerns for Greeks in the Empire during the politically tumultuous time before World War I. A closer analysis of this narrative reveals that embedded in Vaka's improvisation on the contemporary fascination with all things Oriental is propaganda meant to inflame and reaffirm Western fears of an Ottoman Empire and Islamism that had for centuries been constructed by the west as spiritually corrupted, sexually enticing, and politically aggressive.

Vaka was born in 1877 on Büyük Ada (Prinkipo Island) in the sea of Marmara, an over the water suburb of İstanbul, and grew up in that city. She was raised to be conscious of her Greek heritage, including her responsibilities to the "Great Idea" (*Megalo Idea* in Greek), the belief that all the lands once of the Byzantine Empire should be returned to Greece. However, she broke with some of her Greek community's expectations early on by forming strong friendships with Turkish girls and leaving her family at the age of seventeen to emigrate to the United States

(Note 1), in part to avoid an arranged marriage (Overton 286). During her lifetime, she wrote for the *Atlantic Monthly*, *Colliers* and other magazines, and produced twelve books of fiction and non-fiction. Vaka, often identified by scholars as Vaka Brown (her American husband's last name) or Mrs. Kenneth Brown (the principal name she used on her earlier publications), is the first Greek-American woman recognized as an author of reputation (Kalogeras 107).

With *In the Shadow of Islam*, Vaka manipulates the literary conventions of the popular love story, the form of publishable writing most available to women readers and women writers in the early twentieth century, to create a narrative that by its conclusion replaces romantic love with a sexualized nationalism, American as well as Greek. One of her goals is to revise radically the romance genre's long-established Victorian imperatives to glorify a woman's position as adoring wife and mother and to affirm her place in the home and community as the literal and figurative bearer of civilized culture. In answer to the needs of a female population struggling to move beyond traditional roles, Vaka extends a woman's duties as moral guardian of the home to moral guardian of the world, replaces marriage to man with marriage to a political ideal, and turns devotion to female morality and sexual purity into a fervent nationalism. The emotionally-charged language of conflicted love is echoed and eventually overcome by the hyperbolic rhetoric of political action. By the end of the novel, the conventional "Reader, I married him" is replaced by "Reader I embraced the cause of furthering the aims of my country."

Houghton Mifflin aided the narrative's cause through the exterior and interior design of the book. The cloth cover of the first edition features a red star and crescent superimposed upon a white cross, itself framed by a square blue background, suggesting to the informed reader and potential buyer of 1911 that a potent Islamic symbol has eclipsed the Greek flag. An American Christian reader unfamiliar with the Greek flag might at least be disturbed by the white Christian cross pinned under the red star of Islam. Another reader might see a positive fusion of the two symbols.

Placed at regular intervals within the text are four illustrations by E. Pollack-Ottendorf, all in black and white. The first, printed alongside the title page, reveals that this is indeed a popular romance. The illustration depicts a man wearing a *fez* and dressed in black, his face cast in shadow. He leans toward a reticent, light-haired woman draped in an angelic white, filmy fabric. The man's oppressive position is intensified by his flaring dark jacket, which magnifies his size, and his dark eyebrows and wide black moustache, which cover any facial expression except the intensity of his eyes. His hand clasps the woman's limp fingers. The caption, "Did I Frighten You?" is enhanced by the background, which includes a forest and mosques. The forest looms and the minarets jut dagger-like into the white sky. The message is complete when the eye lights on the adjoining page and sees printed in bold: *In the Shadow of Islam*. Beneath the title is a smaller graphic

repeating the cover design, showing the star and crescent this time in black and appearing to grasp the cross, which is white. (See Figure 1)

The woman and the cross are visually in the same threatened position, and her fragile lightness connects with the pale sky at the top of the illustration, suggesting that she is of the same substance as the airy lightness above. It is this intimidated, angelic image of the woman that the female reader's eye will return to as a point of identification for herself, so that the question, "Did I frighten you?" is directed to the viewer as well as the character. The viewer would be expected to be enticed by the titillating scene. Will he rape her? Will he attack and kill her? Will her whiteness and Christianity be defiled? Does she wish to be overcome by him, as the reader might want to be while reading the book? If her imagination is captured, the reader will flip through the remaining pages to find three more illustrations all with the similar murky, impressionistic use of shadows and light, showing a sensual clinging or touching between characters, and women as beautiful but serious objects being gazed upon, gazing at themselves in the mirror, or gazing at the Turkish or American other.

While these illustrations reveal the typical sensationalism expected of romance novels, they do not reflect the many descriptions of energetic and independent women that Vaka provides. Nonetheless, the pictures do reinforce the gender and ethnic conflicts that lay at the heart of the narrative. The following questions are painted by the text, often in the broadest strokes: Will the woman be overcome by the man? Will she give in to her sensual lower self that he calls forth, and abandon her intellectual and personal freedom? Will she and he ever be able to look into each other's eyes and see beyond their stereotyped ideas of each other?

These anxious, romantic queries will eventually be subsumed by their nationalistic equivalents: Will the Western powers and participants in the Ottoman Empire be defeated by the Turks? Will they be seduced by Turkish sensualism and forget their "higher calling?" Will Turks and Christians, particularly Americans, ever be able to "see" and perceive each other's reality?

Finally, the two most overtly political questions rise to the fore by the close of the book. Their answers are suggested in the way they are posed. The first is concerned specifically with women's rights: Will the woman comprehend that her only chance for self-realization is to reject a sexual and married relationship to a man, and learn that her real strength will come from joining with other women who are able to understand and support her personal and professional goals? Vaka, heavily influenced by her Greek and American national identities, uses the veil of the romance to camouflage her second, even more politically aggressive question: Will Westerners and Americans in particular see that only a fusion of Western powers against the Ottomans will allow for freedom and dignity for Western peoples living within the Empire?

Vaka's vehicle for convincing her readers that these causes are relevant to their lives is Millicent Grey, the primary heroine, whose terrified image the reader has already encountered in the first illustration. Millicent's *Bildungsroman* begins with her arrival in İstanbul just weeks before the Young Turks Revolution. The conflicts and actions of the plot are created out of her American naïveté and innocence, and desire to do something "for this great world which lay at her feet, dumbly entreating her to stoop and help it rise (Vaka 6). Vaka's tone in her initial descriptions of Millicent is laudatory but tinged with irony, the language repeatedly portraying Millicent as an American Statue of Liberty with good intentions in a region that does not want the modernization she vaguely and ineffectually offers. She is the Victorian "woman on a pedestal" who does not know how to jump down into the fray without losing the higher ideal that she has historically embodied and symbolized through her place above the action.

Her conflicted position reflects the transitional stage of middle and upper-middle class American women—and most likely the readers of this book—after the turn of the century and before World War I. Taking advantage of the educational opportunities increasingly made available to them, they were moving out of their roles as housewives and mothers toward a professional working world not yet ready to accept them. In 1910 women made up 39.6 percent of all students enrolled in American universities, and by 1920, 47 percent of all university students would be female (Gordon 2). While this was a dramatic increase in educational opportunities, traditionally male careers in law, business, clergy, and science were still essentially closed to them. In the first decade of the twentieth century, a literate and educated middle-class American woman would have faced the prospect of relinquishing her role as "angel in the house"—the culturally revered and often financially safe female icon of domesticity—for the prospect of an independent situation outside the home, often as a teacher, journalist, nurse or other often poorly paid and under-recognized professional (Woolf 236-238). If she chose a career even further removed from the traditional sphere for women, she faced a battle against sexism and the possibility of life as a spinster should her independence make her unattractive to potential spouses. If she married, she would in most cases be forced to give up her career goals to fulfill the societal demands of wife and mother.

Millicent's decision to leave the United States after earning her university degree is representative of her desire to escape both conventional entrapment in a physical home and the limited career options available within her own country. "Like many modern girls she did not look upon marriage as a career," the reader is told (Vaka 6). That she should choose the Ottoman Empire, and specifically İstanbul, a place she (and most readers of the novel) had never visited but which has historically suggested an exotic yet ominous presence, is also telling. Vaka's liberal use of symbolic language constructs İstanbul as a dream-like place, literally an "other" world, where Millicent will become listless in the heat, and hypnotized in her love affair. She is caught in a somnambulant state, a fantasy world where she

will be able to work out solutions to her predicament of how to mediate her limited options as a woman in her own society. At the same time, she will be able to critique weaknesses in American culture by imbuing elements of Turkish society with negative aspects of America, particularly the few choices it offers women. So while on the surface it will appear that she is criticizing Turkish culture, she is actually grappling with her own country. This doubled position allows Vaka to appeal to female readers and propose social change in the United States without directly criticizing America and thereby potentially weakening the “romantic” American nationalism which she proposes should replace romantic love as a woman’s call to purpose and action. At the same time, she can fan her American readers’ anxieties over Turkish aggression with the aim of swaying public opinion toward defeat of the Ottomans. She is then, in her critique of both cultures, acting as a “double agent” of change.

Vaka’s feminist agenda is initially revealed in her depiction of Ottoman women, particularly those of Turkish descent, who function for Vaka, as they did for Lady Mary Wortley Montagu almost 200 years earlier, as reconfigured representations of Western femininity, or safe stand-ins that allow the Western writers to conceptualize the negative positions of women in relationship to power structures within their own country. In one of her embassy letters, Lady Mary praises Turkish women and their “Business to Bear or Breed Children” in order to criticize Catholicism’s practice of celebrating asceticism and virginity in women, particularly its reliance on sainthood and nunneries as strategies to deny female sensuality and fecundity (106). While Lady Mary celebrates a stereotype of Turkish female fertility to promote freedom of physical expression for women in England, Vaka denigrates the same stereotype, using it to press the argument that fertility and sexual relationships with men are degrading and imprisoning. Both writers use a similar construction of Turkish women in political critiques of their own countries. Lady Mary, a Protestant and a Whig, is concerned with protecting the English state from the threat of Catholic insurgence in the early eighteenth century; one of Vaka’s aims is to promote the early American feminist movement as it attempts to disentangle itself from the Victorian era.

Millicent’s choice to work as a philanthropist reveals her own subversive desire to participate in national politics. Philanthropy offered popular and socially acceptable careers for middle-class women. It allowed them to work outside the home while still holding the traditionally feminine role of a server and helper who can provide basic education and food to those in need. Regions within the Ottoman Empire were the focus of several American philanthropic efforts in the late nineteenth and earlier twentieth century, mostly directed toward supporting Christian minorities living there. In the thirty years just prior to World War I, over half of all foreign missionaries and workers in the Middle East were women. Indeed, Clara Barton, the director of the Red Cross and a heroine to many middle-class American women, went to İstanbul in the late 1890’s because of American attention to escalating tensions between Turks and Christian groups (Pryor 288-295).

By 1911, many Americans were aware of these conflicts in the Ottoman Empire; nonetheless, Vaka does not have Millicent direct her philanthropic efforts toward Christians. Instead, the reader is told, “she means to charge the very homes of the Turks themselves” in order to help Turkish women gain their independence (Vaka 7). Descriptions of Millicent’s ideas about helping Turkish women are rife with military images of charging and conquering. That Millicent wants to overtake the homes of Turks reveals not only Vaka’s political motives but also American women’s desire to free themselves from their own confined situations in the home and participate, through philanthropy, in American expansionism, including international politics and war.

Millicent’s education, financial independence, freedom to travel beyond the confines of the home, and her humanitarian goals, however ill-defined, might then appeal to female readers of *In the Shadow of Islam* who could vicariously experience mobility and the potential to find meaningful work in the public sphere. However, Millicent’s advantages are jeopardized by her encounter with “Orkhan the Turk” who will represent to readers the specter of sensual love and its imprisoning end result: marriage. Orkhan, nephew to the Sultan, educated at Oxford, is the leader of a faction of Young Turks poised on the brink of revolution. Like Millicent, he is upper class, well-educated and devoted to democracy. Yet, the reader is told, Orkhan has two strikes against him: he is “alien to her faith and the ideals of her country” (Vaka 151). While the reader sees few examples of Millicent’s religious faith and no tangible physical participation in furthering the democratic ideals of her country, she has been, through her education and moral upbringing, groomed to embody “those hopes of a higher womanhood yet to come” (Vaka 151), which, the reader is meant to understand, does not refer to motherhood but to a greater goal that will be revealed by the end of the narrative. The politically charged language throughout the book suggests that support of and even participation in military action should be her proper choice. Orkhan, with his sensual attractiveness and desire for her, can divert her from her yet unclear calling.

The reader is told that Orkhan has a “hypnotic” power over Millicent and is able to make her “thrill to the utmost fibre of her being” (Vaka 150). When she is near him, Millicent’s higher ideals are replaced with physical desire, a darker side she refers to as the “primitive being within herself,” one that makes her “absolutely happy in the arms of that man,” causing her to “forget all” (Vaka 211). What threatens Millicent then is not Orkhan so much as her sensual self. If she gives in to her sexual and reproductive urges, she will confine herself to a home and to motherhood. She struggles valiantly against such a humiliating choice, although she is also enticed by the mindlessness of it, the ability to give in to cultural pressure and forget her education and professional goals.

Because Vaka does not present readers with an alternative American or European suitor for Millicent, one who would meet the requirements of her religious and nationalistic ideals, Orkhan’s representation avoids becoming a complete

representation of the exotic, racial other. Instead, Vaka makes Orkhan's chief negative characteristic not his ethnic identity but his maleness. Put more succinctly, his Turkish ethnicity *is* his maleness. When, in her lengthy deliberations, Millicent refers to Orkhan as "only a Turk" the subtext of that slur is that he is "only a man." This suggestion is born out in the detailed explanation of Orkhan's patriarchal, and therefore negative, connection to his Ottoman father and his matriarchal, and therefore positive, connection to his mother, an Albanian slave. It is Orkhan's devotion to his mother's lineage that inspires his loyalty to the multicultural democracy proposed by the Young Turks. Thus, it is his "female" and Christian side that aligns him with Millicent's democratic ideals, but in the end it will be his "male" or Ottoman self that will take over. On the night when he determines that it will be impossible for him, as an Ottoman, to equally share power with other ethnic groups in the new Turkey planned by the Young Turks, he burns the Albanian belt given to him by his mother, destroying the symbol of his tie to her and his feminine self (Vaka 226).

Orkhan's transformation into despotic male coincides with his abandonment of his goal of democracy. Marrying Millicent becomes his obsession, and he is "impatient for the time when she would be entirely dependent on him and subservient to his will" (Vaka 234). By using the charged words "dependent" and "subservient," language already common in American feminist circles when criticizing the strictures of marriage, the reader sees what Millicent is still too dazed by her physical desire to clearly understand: she is in peril of losing her autonomy and, in turn, her American identity and its fierce individualism. "I am no longer the same person I was when I left my country," she says weakly. "I am powerless" (Vaka 215). To leave no doubt in the reader's mind that marriage is tantamount to degrading imprisonment for a woman, Vaka engineers a telling obstacle to the proposed union of the pair.

If Orkhan is to marry Millicent, he must reject the Sultan's daughter, to whom he is engaged but does not love. Because breaking off the marriage is too much of a risk for him, he concocts a plan in which Millicent will be brought into the harem (Note 2) as a slave to his female cousin, Malkatoum, a secret member of the Young Turks and, the reader discovers, also desperately in love with Orkhan. Malkatoum's self-sacrificing love is so strong that she is willing to push aside her own feelings and risk her life in order to bring Millicent into the harem under her protection if it will please Orkhan. Within the context of the novel, her generosity does not represent the epitome of goodness, as it might in a more traditional love story. Instead she appears blind and misguided, her actions and promises to Orkhan showing readers the folly of a selfless love for a man.

Should Millicent agree to Orkhan's plan, she will be a slave on three levels: she will be literally owned, she will be confined to life within the limited physical space of the harem, and she will be figuratively married. The chance that Millicent might accept those terms of imprisonment is sure to have placed American female

readers of the time into a quandary of emotion, titillating them with a “primitive” sexual bondage and the same time tempting them with the safety of a secluded marriage, where they would be protected from the demands and negotiations of life outside the home, like Turkish women, whom Vaka describes as “little children” emotionally and intellectually (Vaka 132). Again Vaka exoticizes the familiar by placing the rather typical temptations of marriage within the context of an “outside” place. The reader could let herself be carried into a fantasy vision of marriage in much the same way she would in a love story, except for Vaka’s strategic use of the word “slave,” a term that would repel a middle-class white woman of the time in at least two ways.

An American reader’s conception of slavery in 1911 would have most obviously included the history of blacks in the United States, a group conceived by many Caucasian-Americans of that time as descendants of a more primitive race, a notion reinforced by the fact that fifty years earlier blacks had been bought, owned, and sold by whites. A reader’s understanding of slavery would also include the then national concern with the issue of white slavery, the practice of kidnapping white women or enticing them with money in order to force them into lives of prostitution. The problem was considered a serious issue by the American public; serious enough for the Congress to pass, the same year *In the Shadow of Islam* was published, the White Slavery Act, making the transportation of women across state lines for immoral purposes a federal crime.

By choosing the word “slave” instead of concubine, Vaka effectively aligns marriage with prostitution, immorality, and primitive behavior. Millicent’s decision to refuse Orkhan’s offer would most likely have met with approval by readers because she has saved herself from a degrading, suffocating imprisonment.

The term “slave” does have more complex connotations for subjects of the Ottoman Empire and their descendants. The Ottomans could take non-Muslim slaves, and some Christians and members of other groups even arranged to have their children sold as slaves to the ruling class as a step toward gaining upward mobility. A female slave could reach high standing in an Ottoman family—as in the case of Orkhan’s mother. A male slave could attain positions of power within the government. For example, İbrahim Pasha (1493-1536), Grand Vizier (1523-1536) for Suleiman the Magnificent and the second most powerful man in the Empire during Suleiman’s reign (1520-1566), was a Greek captive who married Suleiman’s sister Hatice. We can assume Vaka uses this term conscious of its local historical connotations. However, because she does not attempt to expand on this specific context within the novel, we can also assume that she is relying primarily on her readers’ strictly American experience of the word.) (Note 3)

If Millicent does not choose to marry the man who pursues her, how is the narrative to reach a satisfying conclusion for her readers, especially after such intense sensual conflict? What is to replace Orkhan as the site of passion and self-



definition? If there is no man to take Orkhan's place, and Millicent is in sound mind and body, and thus cannot die tragically from a broken heart or drift into madness or consign herself to a nunnery (typical solutions for heroines who do not meet the requirement of marrying by the close of a romance), then Vaka must propose an equally compelling solution.

It is at this juncture that the narrative drops the mask of romantic, heterosexual love it has relied upon to engage its readers, and openly reveals its nationalistic and feminist agenda. It arrives embodied in the form of a Greek woman. Just as Millicent has served as the symbol of America, Elpis, the orphaned daughter of wealthy Greeks living in the Ottoman Empire, is presented to readers as the symbol of a liberated, stronger Greece.

Elpis answers the text's need for a knight in shining armor when she physically rescues Millicent after Orkhan, realizing she will not give in, resorts to kidnapping her. Elpis, who outwits Orkhan, can also shoot better than her male servants, and announces, "I can take care of myself" (Vaka 275). When she professes her adoration and admiration for Millicent, a member of a "race which has never been conquered," she offers a romantic duty to country and race as well as a sisterhood that will allow both of them to rise above the disappointing actions of men, Turkish and Greek (Vaka 288). Elpis blames Greek men for her people's loss of Constantinople and all Greek lands to the Turks. Greek men, she says, have "no other hope but the grave and oblivion. . . . It is the men who have changed, not the times" (Vaka 198). Only women have the conviction and courage necessary to take part in the war and gain back what is theirs.

When the battle of the Young Turks begins, Elpis turns to Millicent, expressing for the first time her fear that by the end of the revolution, Greeks will lose their property and their rights, most importantly their freedom to practice their Christian faith in the Ottoman Empire. She is shown clinging to Millicent, presenting readers with an image of a vulnerable but proud Greece turning to a younger but powerful female America, pure and bright with higher ideals and finally ready to relinquish her absorption in romantic love for a higher purpose. The close of the book presents a union of American expansionism and Greek nationalism combined with a plea for the support of educated American women who, with their growing mobility and newly freed energies, could find direction by enlisting themselves in the Greek cause to see "the end of Turks in Europe" (Vaka 315). This new alliance between Millicent and her political suitor, Elpis, is the equivalent of marriage in the romance genre, and it attempts to resolve the conflict before offering an example of what form their joint activism will take. Are they to become spies, nurses, or soldiers themselves? The implications of any articulated action would have either contradicted Vaka's feminist agenda or thrust women directly into the physically dangerous and male arena of war, a position still too extreme for mainstream readers.

The issue of Turkish women remains unresolved as well. Through the very last sentence, Turks are characterized as threats to the self-actualization of Western women, who are warned not to be seduced by the beauty and graciousness of what is ultimately a people who are menacingly masculine. As for the Turkish women Millicent proclaims her desire to assist, once they have served their purpose—as representations of the mindless fecundity American women should fear in themselves—they disappear from the narrative. Perhaps their inclusion in the resolution would have weakened the totalizing gender and racial divisions upon which the engine of Vaka’s call to action depends. Being both female (and thus to be celebrated) and Turkish (and thus to be rejected), their presence would have not only undermined the book’s agenda, it could have thwarted the coherent closure demanded of a popular romance novel (even one blatantly hijacked for nationalistic purposes) and propelled the narrative toward questions neither Vaka nor her readers would have been willing to ask.

### Notes

**1** Vaka travelled to the US in the capacity of secretary to the newly appointed Ottoman Consul General in New York City, an ethnic Greek diplomat. She stayed on and married an Anglo-American, Kenneth Brown. Editor’s note.

**2**The word *harem* comes from the Arabic *haram*, meaning “inviolable.” For Ottoman society, the term “harem” designated the women’s quarters of a household; not at all only that of the Sultan’s palace, as it denotes in Western parlance. Thus, had she accepted to become a “slave,” Millicent would have joined the harem in Malkatoum’s residence. Editor’s note.

**3** The Turkish term *cariye* (used for women) is what Vaka apparently translated as “slave.” The term “captive” which author Postma uses in connection with İbrahim Paşa would have been more appropriate. Of these captives, most were captured and sold by pirates. A fascinating fictional account of the relationship between an Italian captive and his Ottoman Turkish owner, both scholars of high caliber, can be found in Orhan Pamuk’s postmodernist novel *Beyaz Kale* (İstanbul: Can Yayınları, 1985), translated into English as *The White Castle* (transl. Victoria Holbrook. New York: George Braziller, 1991).

However, there were also the *devsirmes*, of whom İbrahim Paşa was one, (traditionally orphaned) Christian boys who were converted and educated to be formed as janissaries or public servants. Their career could go as high as *vezir-i âzam* (Grand Vizier) or *sadrâzam* (prime minister), allowing them, as in the case of İbrahim Pasha, to consort with the likes of the Sultan’s siblings.

Concerning women, author Postma did not say enough. Most Ottoman empresses—from Roxana, the Ukrainian beauty who became Suleiman the Magnificent's wedded wife and acquired tremendous political clout, to Sultan Nakshidil who was, legend has it, Aimée du Buc de Rivery, Joséphine de Beauharnais' cousin—were of Western, Christian extraction, brought to the palace as “captives.” Once integrated into the imperial harem, the women's quarters of the palace, these young ladies were given rigorous schooling, worthy of the most demanding British finishing school. See the feature film *Harem Soirée* (Harem Soirée 1999) by Ferzan Özpetek for a nostalgic reconstruction of the last days of the harem at the imperial palace before the demise of the Ottoman Empire.

The term *cariye* as well as the term “harem” have both been grossly misrepresented in the Western media, in the same way perhaps that the term “geisha” has been. For her woman owner, a *cariye* could be anything from an indentured servant to a *dame de compagnie*. Millicent in *In the Shadow of Islam* would probably have been the latter, and lived on an equal social footing with Malkatoum, as a member of her household and part of her *entourage*, acting more as a *confidante* than anything else. She would not have been any more constricted to the home than Malkatoum would have been. As a person born and bred in İstanbul, Vaka would naturally have known this. Editor's note.

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## Figures

Figure 1 Title Page of *In the Shadow of Islam*

